

source of demand and funding for private enterprise" (p. 112). The book presents many similarly exciting ideas.

Iowa State University, Ames

Richard S. Kirkendall

Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism. By Reginald Horsman. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981. Pp. 367. Notes, index. \$22.50.)

America's Founding Fathers talked and wrote of their world mission to spread republicanism. By the 1850s a new generation of American leaders was less concerned with the liberation of other peoples by the spreading of republicanism than with the limitless expansion of an allegedly superior American race over supposedly inferior ones. Historian Reginald Horsman's *Race and Manifest Destiny* probes the origins of pre-Civil War American racialism and its impact on the course of American expansion.

In Part I Horsman demonstrates that colonial Americans inherited the myth of a free Anglo-Saxon past that had been nurtured by English clergymen to justify their break with Rome. In struggling to separate themselves from the government of Great Britain, American revolutionaries generally believed that they were contending for principles of liberty introduced into England more than a thousand years earlier by Anglo-Saxons from Germany.

Horsman reveals in Part II how the belief that Americans were the most distinguished descendants of the Anglo-Saxons grew in the decades after the Revolution and how the belief that expansion was an integral part of American destiny permeated American thinking. Between 1815 and 1850 American writers found the guiding principle in their nation's history in the love of liberty supposedly characteristic of Germanic peoples and in the alleged innate ability of Anglo-Saxons to enshrine liberty in free institutions. Outside of New England and areas in the Old Northwest where its influence was strong, theories of Teutonic-Anglo-Saxon greatness, which developed as part of the Romantic movement and the new "scientific" theories of race espoused by such scholars as Samuel G. Morton, provided a convenient rationale for holding blacks in bondage and mistreating Indians. Even New Englanders such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, who shunned extreme racial arguments, believed in "the moral peculiarity of the Saxon race" (p. 178).

Part III focuses on the American Anglo-Saxon political

ideology that rigorously excluded nonwhite races from equal participation in the American republic. Horsman argues that the remarkable expansion, development, and rise to power of the United States during the three quarters of a century following the American Revolution had turned the republican optimism of the Founding Fathers into arrogance. Racial Anglo-Saxonism provided a convenient justification for America's internal and external subjugation of "inferior" peoples.

Race and Manifest Destiny is a well-documented, in-depth study of antebellum racial thought which challenges the older view of historians that racial Anglo-Saxonism was not intellectually ascendant in American thought before the Civil War. Although Horsman acknowledges the presence of "a confused minority" who did not believe "the bombast, the arrogance, the shallow thought" (p. 269) of the antebellum Anglo-Saxonists, more attention needs to be paid to those who refused to condemn other races to permanent inferiority. Nevertheless, Horsman has made a very important contribution to the understanding of antebellum racial thought.

*The University of Wisconsin,
Eau Claire*

Ronald N. Satz

The Harder We Run: Black Workers since the Civil War. By William H. Harris. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. Pp. ix, 259. Figures, tables, notes, appendix, guide to further reading, index. \$17.95.)

This brief economic history of black Americans is a work of synthesis. The author relies largely on relevant secondary works and government publications to chronicle the struggles of black workers. The survey is leavened, however, by materials and insights drawn from the author's research on A. Philip Randolph and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

William H. Harris states that his book "is about the racism that has made it impossible for blacks to participate fully in American society" (pp. 3-4). He takes his title from the first half of the lament, "The harder we run, the farther we fall behind." Harris demonstrates the appropriateness of both parts of this saying in describing the economic experiences of black Americans since emancipation. His analysis focuses on employment trends, the relationship of black workers to the trade union movement, and organized efforts by blacks to change employment patterns and to fight discrimination by trade unions.